EXPECTING THE UNEXPECTED? THE MODERATING EFFECTS OF INTERGROUP EXPECTATIONS ON BEING TOLERATED

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Abstract

Amid political, social, and moral debates concerning acceptance and inclusion versus rejection and discrimination lies another category, who academics dub to be the 'tolerated'. Considered a double-eged sword in its simultaneous benefits and risks, intergroup tolerance allows for social harmony and diversity, yet may be detrimental to minority beliefs, practises, and behaviours that are merely endured. Due to the relative novelty of this field in social psychology, research is lacking on the negative psychological implications that tolerance may impose upon social minorities, i.e. 'outgroups'. The present study aimed to investigate the topic using insight from *social identity theory* (Tajfel & Turner, 1979)—which theorises social group memberships to play a role in one's self-concept—and *expectancy violation theory* (Burgoon & Jones, 1976), which proposes expectations to determine how one emotionally reacts when such predictions are falsified. A total of 635 American participants completed a modified game of Cyberball (Williams & Jarvis, 2006) designed to simulate the experience of social acceptance, tolerance, and rejection, preceded by an expectations prime to induce either high or low expectations regarding their treatment during the game. Lower expectations were hypothesised to cushion participants from the negative social and psychological outcomes of tolerance relative to higher expectations on various social identity needs, future teamwork attitudes, and personal wellbeing. Results confirmed a significant effect of expectations on all domains except for future openness. Implications and future directions are further considered.

Introduction

What does it mean to 'tolerate'? Toleration can be reflected in a parent putting up with an unwanted behaviour of their child; when one tolerates their friend's habit of smoking despite their disapproval of the behaviour; when an individual tolerates food their partner wants to eat even despite their disapproval for the cuisine. Toleration in the wider sense refers to the endurance of beliefs, practices, or behaviours we object to, thereby restraining oneself from exteriorising negative thought into negative action (Verkuyten et al., 2021; 2020a; 2019). The French author Voltaire once wrote: "Discord is the great ill of mankind; and tolerance is the only remedy for it" (Voltaire, 1977, p. 142). Such ideas have come to present themselves in academic discourse as *intergroup tolerance*, with its implications earning growing interest in social-psychological research.

Tolerance, as described by Verkuyten and Yogeeswaran (2017), denotes a social dynamic that highlights the gray area between social acceptance and discrimination. Tolerance is deemed a crucial tool for securing peace and respect among distinct groups, whose relationships with one another could otherwise demonstrate significant friction in the absence of interpersonal lenience. To be intolerant of any difference, whether major or minor, would render societies impossible to function; likewise, it is unrealistic to expect unconditional acceptance of any and every dissimilarity in a world defined by an abundance of diversity. While an individual may disapprove of tobacco use, they may nonetheless tolerate smokers in their community. Similarly, colleagues on opposing ends of the political scale are likely to forgo their polarities to ensure successful and amicable teamwork; and atheists may feel uncomfortable with some parents enrolling their children in religious schools, yet defend the rights of religious people to pray and raise their children in their faith nonetheless. Prejudice need not be a precedent to invite (in)tolerance, as disapproval regarding one's individual beliefs or practises (e.g. stances on abortion, feminism, politics)

may emerge even towards liked groups, if not even one's own group (see Verkuyten et al., 2020a; 2020b).

It is this deliberate abstinence from translating such dislike or disapproval of differences into action that highlights the need for toleration in human relationships as a means of promoting and protecting diversity. Those exercising tolerance cannot necessarily be antagonised, for tolerance is a complex social structure with both assets and liabilities upon intergroup relations. Numerous cultural and/or religious beliefs and practises undergo routine debate between ethical, political, and/or socially popular views and their more controversial counterparts, such as the pro-birth and pro-choice debate, or criticism regarding women's rights in various religions and cultures. Given that no two individuals can be exactly alike, the answers to these social dilemmas continue to remain highly subjective. Thus, tolerance as a neutral permission of sorts to engage in differing behaviours and opinions—although not with unequivocal support and respect—helps enrich society and allows diversity to thrive, while simultaneously influencing numerous government policies, broadening mindsets, and advocating social reform over time. Where those of clear rejection cannot provide, a diverse catalogue of beliefs and practises are granted the opportunity to be freely observed and reinforced within the perimeters of tolerance. With tolerance, minority members are able to navigate wider society equipped with rights, resources, and relative privileges that permit continuous growth and practise of their cultural identities (Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2017; Verkuyten et al., 2020c).

Tolerance, as a term in the social sense, thereby refers not to prejudice or hostile feelings towards a differing individual; rather, it encapsulates the disapproval of beliefs or practises that may differ from one's own, while deciding for other reasons to nevertheless allow such beliefs or practises. Where objection externalised as active interference and prohibition of the disapproved belief or practise becomes intolerance, restraining oneself

from acting upon this disapproval for whatever reasons they may consider valid (e.g. peacemaking, beliefs in freedom of speech) manifests as the voluntary self-control over negative outgroup attitudes that is intergroup tolerance (Verkuyten et al., 2020a). Tolerance is not the same as “indifference, neutrality, [nor] refraining from acting out of fear” (Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2017, p.3); it merits its own importance in the social fabric as a separate structure altogether in that it is a defense against discrimination, and allows multicultural societies to function in civil fashion despite their differences (Verkuyten et al., 2020a; Verkuyten et al., 2019). Be it culturally, politically, religiously, or ethnically if not racially, tolerance “acts as a barrier against discrimination and gives cultural minority citizens the freedoms and rights to define and develop their own ways of life" (Verkuyten et al., 2020c, p. 3).

That is not to say (in)tolerance encompasses every miniscule difference between individuals in society; rather, only those that are considered important (Van Doorn, 2014). What is deemed important may include the subject of morality, as emotional intensity for one’s morals and values may dictate the degree to which views and opinions deviating from their own are tolerated. When considering findings where tolerance was increased towards differences that people considered relatively removed from ethics (e.g. alcohol consumption, cuisines with strong odours), compared to matters appraised as an issue of morality (e.g. capital punishment, eugenics), the type of belief and how strongly one feels regarding the matter appears to help direct tolerance (Hirsch et al., 2019; Wright et al., 2008).

Such perspectives are not to praise toleration as a solely positive social dynamic where advantages would outweigh its consequences. The notion of tolerance as being both a barrier to overt discrimination, and that of tolerance as a softer form of rejection built on a predetermined hierarchy system, are two approaches that are not mutually exclusive and do coexist. While tolerance can allow differences to thrive, albeit with relative restriction,

tolerance in the face of acceptance implies a power imbalance between social groups, rendering it so that the safety of the tolerated group cannot be guaranteed in the space of the tolerator when minority groups are tolerated—not out of respect, but out of permission to coexist in the same space (Simon et al., 2018; Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2017). To be tolerated, rather than celebrated, indicates the pursuit of certain lifestyles to be dependent on conditional approval, and reinforcement of this system from either ends only serves to authorise the dominant group with leverage over submissive others in situations where respect may not be mutual (Simon & Schaefer, 2016; Verkuyten et al., 2020c). Minorities in society serve as prime examples where tolerance directs the relationship between their members—the *ingroup*—and those outside it, i.e. the *outgroup(s)*: the degree to which a minority can express their social identities, beliefs, and practises is ultimately moderated by those in the majority, thereby placing minorities "in a vulnerable position wherein their freedom can be limited when more powerful others consider them no longer tolerable" (Cvetkovska et al., 2021, p. 2). Tolerance can also be a mutual system amongst minorities, wherein tolerance becomes "a joint function of disapproval and respect" (Simon & Schaefer, 2016, p. 376) that allows one minority to respect another as an equal citizen, without necessarily having to discard their opinions and feelings on their differing beliefs, practises, and behaviours. Where there lies a clearer distinction in power, however, tolerance appears to take effect as more a function of permission rather than respect.

Social shifts in attitude toward the LGBTQ community, to take an example, have generally come to replace overt discrimination with tolerance in terms of how homophobia and transphobia now manifest. The status quo now renders it so that violent acts of homophobia, or blatant discrimination of one's gender and/or sexual identity in professional settings, no longer bypass mass criticism in this current age of social media and justice. However, the increase in visibility for sexual minorities continue to be

nonetheless met with frequent disapproval, with the conditions under which one can embody their gender/sexual identity being determined largely by the hands of the public. For instance, although an individual may overall not be hateful toward those who are homosexual, they may simultaneously disapprove of one's sexual behaviours or festivals hosted by the very minority for the nature in which they may deem inappropriate for public display. Similar parallels can be found in attitudes toward the Muslim community across Western societies, who have come to represent a societally deemed 'outlier' from a Western point of view: while Muslim individuals now claim proportions far from insignificant of the overall population in many countries, their religious practises remain nevertheless vulnerable to unwarranted ethnocentrism—such as policing the use of hijabs in public and, as indicated by the term, *tolerance* rather than acceptance of Muslims and their religious practises. Various environments in such societies including the workplace, schools, and even public spaces may allow prayers to be made, but nonetheless show discomfort at the action. To be on the receiving end of this tolerance, rather than acceptance and support for what one values as culturally significant and crucial to their personal identity, would potentially be hurtful and damage one's self-esteem. Even if tolerance in itself is not intended with malice or the intent to hurt and offend, those subject to this very attitude may interpret it as disrespectful or a dismissal of practises and beliefs they consider to be sacred, necessary, or central to their sense of self—their *social identity*—and the communities to which they constitute (Verkuyten et al., 2020c).

In such ways, tolerance can concurrently garner commendation and criticism as both the bridge between social groups and the stairs that separate them. Tolerance allows for social harmony and cooperation and is deemed essential for democracy, yet simultaneously gives way to numerous negative implications by having members in a society indirectly be told that they, as individuals, do not fully belong. Aspects of the tolerated individual—which may be

of cultural, religious, political, and/or simply personal significance to them—may also often fall short of receiving adequate respect and value by their community in return. Such responses by wider society could then make the tolerated individual feel hurt, offended, ostracised, undesirable, and as though they are unwillingly made inferior in a predetermined social hierarchy to which they did not subscribe. In essence, toleration is patronising: a social dynamic reliant on the volitional, fluctuating self-restraint of powerful others is thereby susceptible to change, often immediately and without notice, which would exert continual pressure on the minority to conform to the terms of the majority in order to stay palatable (Verkuyten et al., 2020c). One could argue this system also lacks fairness in that tolerant behaviour from the supposed antagonist may be glorified as honourable and morally correct, allowing majority members to reap social capital through superficial acceptance and performative activism where convenient—while ultimately little is done to aid the tolerated in any meaningful way.

Psychological Implications of Tolerance

Tolerance is not without its negative psychological implications, as underlined by a growing body of literature on the topic. Several negative implications documented thus far propose tolerance to lead to decreases in one's social identity and its needs, which encompasses the subsets of self-confidence, self-esteem, motivation, and sense of control and belonging, in addition to heightened fear, anxiety, and intragroup conflicts as a result of efforts to stay within the favour of the host society (Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2017; Verkuyten et al., 2020c; Cvetkovska et al., 2021). Tolerance, as argued by Verkuyten et al. (2020c), may be emotionally and psychologically taxing on the recipient as a result of the conditional circumstances under which their beliefs and practises are observed. Due to the ambiguous nature in which tolerance manifests, the heightened sense of uncertainty that may accompany the experience of tolerance could consume a significant amount of cognitive

resources when attempting to interpret the subtleties of the situation. Uncertainty could also pose the possibility of the tolerated individual blaming themselves for the situation, which would not only be harmful for their confidence and self-esteem, but could also negatively shape future interactions between the tolerated and the tolerator (Verkuyten et al., 2020c). The risks of inconveniencing or angering the host society could serve as a constant source of stress, as well as frustration in that one's identity depends on validation from not themselves, but the group within which they identify (Cheryan & Monin, 2005).

The psychological effects of outright discrimination and rejection are both predictable and well-established; what implications that tolerance may have, however, remain unclear. Neither full acceptance nor outright rejection, Cvetkovska et al. (2021) propose the experience of tolerance to be similar to discrimination, differing only by the absence of escalating to negative action in the former; both nonetheless share the same "negative appraisal of minority practises and identity" (p. 18), implying the negative implications that result from discrimination to somewhat extend to tolerance. Recent findings by Cvetkovska et al. (2020) discovered that, while favourable to discrimination, tolerance remained independent from both rejection and acceptance with its own outcomes. On one hand, perceived tolerance amongst minorities was associated with higher wellbeing than rejection, suggesting tolerance to be beneficial to minorities by allowing relative expression of identity. On the other hand, perceived acceptance demonstrated higher positive affect, less negative affect, and greater national identification—results that were not found for those who felt tolerance best described the treatment of their group. Such findings are supported by Bagci et al. (2020), who also observed a connection between perceived tolerance and decreased positive wellbeing, in addition to stronger senses of threat to one's social identity.

In all, the aforementioned publications in recent years indicate tolerance to indeed pose different implications for wellbeing that are independent from acceptance and discrimination.

With that being said, the attention towards the negative psychological outcomes of tolerance remains small and novel as of present; further investigations are in order to adequately assess the negative implications that tolerance may carry. While tolerance has been established as a separate dynamic, its implications are yet to be extensively studied in the manner that discrimination has been. It is this area of interest which gives way to the focus of the present study: by discerning distinctions between the three types of intergroup relationships, the study may be able to further add to the literature concerning the negative psychological outcomes for tolerance. This will be done so in conjunction with social identity and its subsequent needs.

Social Identity and Ingroup Identification

Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) argues that an individual's self-concept is partially derived from social categories in which one identifies themselves (or others) to be a member of, such as their age cohort, religious group, certain cultural and ethnic backgrounds, sex/gender, etc. Social identity thus provides a means for defining the self in terms of the social groups—and their unique classifiers—to which one belongs (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). This also allows for the individual to characterise both themselves and others on the basis of differing social categories, giving way to distinction between an *ingroup* (individuals who are perceived to be part of the same group) and the *outgroup* (individuals who are unlike the self). With social identities comes what academics propose to be called (*social) identity needs*, which refers to several needs that individuals are motivated to satisfy and protect in the face of threats to their self-esteem and/or sense of identity. The needs may vary between publications, but a well-known model of identity needs and subsequent needs threat is the Temporal Needs-Threat Model by Williams (2009), composed by the needs of *belonging* (the need to feel a sense of belonging and acceptance), *esteem* (the need to protect self-esteem), *control* (the need to have adequate control), and *meaningful existence* (the need to find

purpose in one's existence). Another identity needs model proposed by Vignoles et al. (2006), dubbed the Motivated Identity Construction Theory, repeats the needs of esteem, meaning, and belonging, but adds *distinctiveness* (the need to establish a unique identity for the self), *continuity* (the need to maintain a sense of continuity in one's identity across time and environments), and *efficacy* (the need to maintain feelings of control and competence). Regardless of variation, the need to protect one's social identity above all underlines every model. To have these identity needs threatened—through being tolerated, for example—would pose negative implications upon the individual on the receiving end.

Much research in recent years have examined the impact of tolerance on its recipients and how social identities relate to the experience, with results yielding important insights into the perspective of the target as well as foundations for future studies to build upon. Across three correlational studies on three of Turkey's stigmatised groups—ethnic Kurds, LGBTQ members, and individuals with disabilities—Bagci et al. (2020) sought to examine the effects of tolerance and discrimination on the key measures of psychological wellbeing and social identity needs (esteem, meaning, belonging, distinctiveness, continuity, efficacy) based on the Motivated Identity Construction Theory by Vignoles et al. (2006; 2011). Each of the three studies surveyed participants on perceived discrimination, perceived toleration, social identity needs, and psychological wellbeing, with results confirming their hypotheses: social identity needs were the mediator between perceived tolerance and psychological wellbeing for sexual minority members and disabled persons, while psychological wellbeing saw a decrease in the Kurdish group. Most importantly, perceived tolerance was found to be independent from perceived discrimination in its ability to threaten one's social identity needs, which in turn showed correlation with worsened psychological wellbeing. With abundant focus on the impacts of overt discrimination and not on its softer alternative, Bagci et al. (2020) were able to observe that being endured with and accepted only under certain terms nonetheless carried

noticeable implications for the mental health of tolerated individuals. The link between social identity needs and wellbeing across all three groups constituted their second novel discovery: rather than closer ties with negative psychological wellbeing (e.g. depression, anxiety), the authors found their results to confirm pre-existing meta-analyses suggestive of social identity needs to be more strongly associated with self-esteem and positive mental health (Smith & Silva, 2011). These results add onto the growing body of research that differentiates the experience of tolerance from that of both acceptance and discrimination, marked by disparities in their implications and outcomes for wellbeing (Bagci et al., 2020).

The conceptualisation of tolerance as an independent dynamic was reinforced by results from Cvetkovska et al. (2020), where ethnic minority members from the Netherlands attested to tolerance as being a favourable upgrade from discrimination, yet less impactful than acceptance on one's positive wellbeing. Similar to the previous study, participants completed responses on ethnic identification, national identification, affective wellbeing, and a forced-choice format questionnaire where participants were to appraise the treatment of their respective groups as either discriminated, tolerated, or accepted. Results confirmed the status of tolerance as neither discrimination nor acceptance, with positive implications in that tolerance, viewed closer to acceptance than rejection, allowed for stronger national identification and increased wellbeing within their host society. Nonetheless, tolerance yielded diverging outcomes when contrasted with solely acceptance—only participants who felt accepted demonstrated greater national identification, more positive wellbeing and less negative affect. As one's country of residence inevitably plays into their identity to varying degrees, threats to such identities through tolerance and/or discrimination may thus pose both subtle and significant implications for wellbeing and affect.

This interest in social identity with group identification relates to what is known as the *rejection-identification model* (Branscombe et al., 1999). Relevant to social identity

theory, the rejection-identification model proposes perceived discrimination or rejection of one's group membership to facilitate greater identification with said (in)group. The model is presented as a coping mechanism through which the discriminated individual seeks solace within their own group to maintain psychological wellbeing; its authors identify an increased need for belonging as one potential reason explaining why ingroup identification may intensify following perceived discrimination or threat from the discriminatory, 'powerful' group(s). In turn, this leads to greater ingroup favouritism and increased caution against potential damage to the positive distinctiveness of the ingroup, thereby making group-based discrimination and prejudice significantly more detrimental to both physical and psychological health than if they were attributed less to identification with a group (Branscombe et al., 1999). With that being said, tolerance itself in Cvetkovska et al.'s (2020) study did not appear to satisfy the notion of increased ingroup identification as a coping resource when under social identity threat, suggesting tolerance to be a complex experience requiring further research to thoroughly understand. As significant discoveries were made only for the effects of tolerance on positive and not negative affect by Cvetkovska et al. (2020), the authors believe positive and negative emotions are "not merely inverses of each other" (Cvetkovska et al., 2020, p. 170) and stress the need for future studies on the implications of tolerance with regards to intergroup relations.

In a more recent publication by Cvetkovska et al. (2021), ethnic minority groups from the United States were surveyed on perceived acceptance/tolerance/discrimination and wellbeing (positive and negative affect, life satisfaction, self-esteem, lack of control, negative emotionality, higher-order wellbeing factors) across three studies. The findings from the latter study fortified the conclusions of the former: tolerance was found to be an experience separate from both acceptance and discrimination, where perceiving oneself to be tolerated rather than accepted was correlated with negative wellbeing. In contrast to their earlier

publication, Cvetkovska et al. (2021) posit tolerance to be closer in proximity to discrimination rather than acceptance, as all three studies demonstrated a mutual negative effect on wellbeing and social identity across both tolerance and discrimination—differing only by the magnitude in which wellbeing was negatively impacted. Tolerance, while preferable to overt rejection and prejudice, is nonetheless cautioned by the authors to be a similarly harmful approach that policymakers should take into consideration so as to avoid inadvertent harm.

As valuable as these findings may be, it is nevertheless important to heed the common denominator of such studies that is a focus on ethnic and sexual minority samples. Further contexts within which tolerance could occur or change remain open for future research, particularly the ways in which tolerance is observed. Previous work on tolerance have yet to examine the psychological consequences of tolerance by experimentally inducing the experience, which calls for newer, more exploratory approaches to understanding its implications. As studies currently in existence largely rely on self-reported and perceived tolerance with relation to correlating outcomes (e.g. negative affect, decreased wellbeing), ways to instead simulate the experience of tolerance within experimental settings would prove beneficial. Recent work by Adelman et al. (2021) has begun to experimentally examine how simulating the experience of being tolerated, as opposed to rejected or accepted in an intergroup context, influences various outcomes across four studies in both the United States and the Netherlands. After categorising participants as a minority member (a ‘people-oriented’ person) amongst majority-group members (three ‘task-oriented’ teammates), participants were then either accepted into the group despite their differences, tolerated as a different ‘other’, or rejected for being part of the outgroup in a game of Cyberball (Williams & Jarvis, 2006). Across all four studies, being tolerated was experimentally shown to be less harmful for social identity needs and well-being than being rejected, but was worse for the same

outcomes relative to being accepted. However, the experience of being tolerated had no impact on minority voice (i.e., willingness to complain about one's treatment) relative to the acceptance condition, with minority voice only increasing following rejection (Adelman et al., 2021). In line with previous studies in the field, tolerance was therefore found to be intermediate between acceptance and rejection in terms of its effects on wellbeing and expectations regarding future treatment from others.

Taken together, numerous studies in the field suggest the experience of tolerance to be intermediate between that of acceptance and rejection. Due to its relative novelty as a topic, however, there remain ample opportunities to add to the literature. Research on tolerance—both its causes and its implications, and its role in various societies—continue to be in shortage, thereby necessitating the further expanding of its literature in the field of intergroup relations (Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2017). One such point of interest that appears yet to be explored is the influence of expectations on how one experiences tolerance. To current knowledge, limited empirical work has been conducted relevant to this area, meaning any effects of expectations on the psychological outcomes of tolerance remain unclear.

Expectations and Expectancy Violation Theory

Expectations tend to direct the way in which behaviours, actions, and events are received by the expectant individual, in both a physical and emotional sense. When outcomes are more positive than anticipated, there is often happiness and relief; where the end result betrays hope, disappointment and despair typically follow. Ample studies have corroborated the tendency for expectations to prompt affective reactions when such expectations are proven otherwise, or 'violated' (Bettencourt et al., 1997). First coined by Burgoon & Jones (1976), the Expectancy Violation Theory (EVT) serves to theorise the navigation of perceived inconsistencies in anticipated behavioural patterns for an individual, object, environment, relationship and/or context. Derived from consistently predictable outcomes,

humans utilise expectations “to characterize and frame their interactions with others, as well as how they perceive this interaction, process information, and subsequently behave” (Bevan et al., 2014, p. 172). To ‘violate’ these expectations entails deviating from such forecasted behaviour, such as breaking social norms that are normally upheld.

While first proposed as a framework for how people process unexpected violations of their personal space and what factors influence the ensuing reactions (Burgoon & Jones, 1976), the theory has since extended to encapsulate a broader variety of contexts under which expectancy violations occur. In the intergroup relations literature, expecting to be the target of discrimination is known to engender various negative outcomes in the individual—including but not limited to increased outgroup hostility, heightened fear and anxiety in relevant situations, and effects on performance in the face of activities and tasks where stereotypes may be confirmed (Shelton et al., 2005). The higher the expectations were to be discriminated or prejudiced against on the basis of their group membership, the more likely that such individuals experienced negative affect and decreased authenticity when interacting with members of the host society (Shelton et al., 2005). As stronger dispositional tendencies to expect discrimination correlate with increased avoidance of intergroup interactions, expectations thus appear to moderate how an action or occurrence is appraised by the individual and reacted upon. This applies not only between social groups, but within groups also: group members who violate the exclusive, defining expectations of their memberships undergo harsher criticism from fellow group members (e.g. Christians disapproving of fellow Christians who voted in favour of euthanasia, as the consesus deems God to dictate both birth and death). Group members who are considered unfavourable by threatening the identity of their group are thus met with more disapproval than unfavourable outgroup members (Biernat et al., 1999). As such, the emotional responses that follow from having one’s expectations

violated appears to be a universal experience that occurs in both intergroup situations and within a single group.

Collectively, such findings highlight the significance of expectations and their consequences when they are not met. On the other hand, it may be that a lack of expectations could be a buffer against negative outcomes, akin to the way *defensive pessimism* moderates the relationship between anxiety and performance through intentionally lowered expectations regarding the outcome (Norem & Cantor, 1986). This effect is mirrored in the intergroup relations literature, where ethnic minorities indeed expect to be discriminated on the basis of their ethnicity and/or race, even in the presence of other memberships such as gender (Levin et al., 2002). Minorities could thus expect their social identities, practises, or beliefs to be tolerated if not rejected within their host societies where the opposing majorities reign supreme. Such findings regarding expectations and subsequent outcomes provide a foundation for the present study: how prior expectations may influence the outcomes of tolerance is a novel idea that has yet to be explored. Examining the impact of expectations on the experience of tolerance appears to be especially appropriate when considering the dual implications of tolerance—it is both favourable and undesirable; neither optimal nor the worst. While it grants minority groups relative freedom to engage in their own practises and beliefs, more so than if they were blatantly rejected, this permission is nonetheless not synonymous with power. Thus, depending on the expectations that one may have regarding treatment from outgroups, tolerance may either be perceived by its merits (e.g. a semblance of acceptance) or as a system overlapping with discrimination (e.g. threats to identity needs). To investigate these hypotheses, we examine how prior expectations moderate the impact of being tolerated (versus being rejected or accepted) impacts on identity needs, emotions, and future expectations.

Other research on what is called the *integration paradox* offers indication that being tolerated or even discriminated against may indeed have differential consequences depending on one's prior expectations. Summarised as "the phenomenon of the more highly educated and structurally integrated immigrants turning away from the host society, rather than becoming more oriented toward it" (Verkuyten, 2016; p. 1), the integration paradox proposes the more advantaged members of minority groups to express greater dissatisfaction with their host society than their less advantaged counterparts of the same group. Minority members with greater skills, power, and education levels, especially if achieved in the host society, may thus become more sensitive to unjust disparities between the groups that minority members without such resources may not be able to discern. In support of this notion, Verkuyten (2016) references findings from the Netherlands where highly educated minority members showed both further interest in the controversial Dutch immigration debate, and greater disapproval towards Dutch society and its natives when perceived non-acceptance/discrimination was higher. Although immigrants often represent a greater proportion of the employed and highly-skilled population in many Western societies, especially if recruited as skilled workers to fill gaps in the country's economy (e.g. the 'brain drain' prompting many countries to continuously seek skilled migrants), immigrants may nonetheless encounter negative experiences and affect on the basis of their minority status, despite lacking little to none to warrant such treatment from their host societies (Harker, 2001; Dietz et al., 2015). Among Asian-Americans, this sentiment was found to ring particularly true in those second-generation or later (born in the host society) compared to first-generation immigrants (born in their native country) by Wang et al. (2012), where *identity denial*—the erasure or denial of one's national group identification (e.g. "You don't look [American]", "Where are you *really* from?")—generated more negative emotions in the former group than the latter due to the differences in expectations to be accepted, and to have

their American identities acknowledged. To selectively deny identities margnialises the tolerated communities, and reinforces the idea of ‘us versus them’; it indirectly tells minorities that, while not explicitly disliked, they are neither accepted nor seen as a valid member of the group despite an inventory of desirable traits or assets that could benefit the host society, such as a high education level.

As the expectations to be fairly treated and acknowledged as a valid member of the host society increase with immigrant generations, the failure to meet such expectations thus elicit more negative reactions and higher perceived discrimination in later generations and/or higher educated immigrants than those whose generations precede the former and/or are less educated (Wang et al., 2012; Verkuyten, 2016). From this, it may be inferred that lowered expectations regarding the majority group conversely lead to increased positive outcomes due to an absence of anticipation for positive treatment. Tied together with aforementioned studies concerning expectations and their consequences, there lies potential in expectations influencing the experience of tolerance: when entering a situation or context anticipating subpar or unfair treatment, such low expectations could then potentially buffer the negative effects of tolerance.

The Present Study

From previously discussed topics and the findings from their respective fields, these notions taken together provide reasonable grounds upon which to hypothesise the impact that expectations may have on experiencing tolerance. This thesis thus aims to add to the currently limited body of research on intergroup tolerance, through investigating intergroup relations in the context of either low or high expectations from the perspective of the tolerated individual—an aspect of the discipline that, to current knowledge, is yet to be examined. In the present work, we ask: would lowered expectations cushion the tolerated individual from the negative implications of tolerance that are stated in the literature? In line

with previous research, the hypothesis assumes that tolerance should generally mimic the effects of discrimination if expectations are high. Subjected to the feeling of being tolerated (i.e. neither accepted nor explicitly discriminated against) when expecting to be accepted should render the individual prone to negative affect and less willing to engage with the outgroups, whom they felt tolerated by rather than welcomed. On the contrary, when expectations to be treated with fairness and respect are low upon entering the context within which tolerance and/or discrimination occur, we expect to see a mitigating effect wherein emotions, identity needs, and social motivation would remain more intact than if expectations exceeded the comparatively disappointing results.

Previous studies concerning expectancy violations have examined its aftermath across various contexts. However, the current research aims to be novel not only in its combination of being tolerated depending on one's prior expectations, but also by experimentally manipulating a group identity that is independent from the standard ethnic-minority identification so prevalent in tolerance studies. Earlier publications on tolerance have typically been anchored by predominantly minority-group samples in Western societies, meaning the separation of tolerance from ethnic and cultural/religious contexts may be somewhat lacking in comparison. Thus, the present study offers an alternative sample where one's minority status is manipulated within an experimental context via a fictional workplace setting rather than a racial, ethnic, or cultural context. This is completed within the context of a popular ball-tossing game called Cyberball (Williams et al., 2000). Numerous papers have testified to the efficacy of the online ball-tossing game for studies on interpersonal relationships. Although typically associated with ostracism rather than tolerance and discrimination, much research consistently documents the genuine effects Cyberball has on human mood, performance, motivation, and fundamental needs such as self-esteem, and sense of control and belonging, all which are of interest to the present study (Zadro et al.,

2004; Lustenberger & Jagacinski, 2010). The present study will also examine emotions as well as social identity needs (belonging, control, respect, uncertainty) based on measures by Verkuyten et al. (2020b). Additionally, likelihoods of intergroup engagement after the Cyberball exercise will be appraised through a teamwork attitudes questionnaire. The current research thus seeks to investigate how conventional expectations of inclusion may moderate the effect of tolerance, juxtaposed with those of acceptance and rejection, on emotions, identity needs, and future intergroup engagement.

Method

Participants

Six hundred and thirty-five participants from the United States were recruited online via TurkPrime for a small monetary compensation of $1.50 USD for 10-15 minutes of their time. Thirteen of the participants were later removed from the analyses due to incomplete responses, bringing the final number of participants to 622. Ages ranged from 18 to 75 and over, where 11.4% of participants belonged to the 18-25 age group (n = 71), 33% to the 26-35 group (n = 205), 27.7% were aged 36-45 (n = 172), 16.1% were aged 46-55 (n = 100), 9.16% were aged 56-65 (n = 57), and 2.4% were in the 66-75 age group (n = 15) with 0.32% aged over 75 (n = 2). Of the 622 participants, 334 identified as female (53.7%) and 278 identified as male (44.7%) with 5 identifying as other (0.8%), and a further 5 declining to answer (0.8%). A majority of the sample was assessed to be White (76.4%, n = 475), while the remaining participants indicated non-White ethnicities (23.6%, n = 147).[1]

Participants were also asked to indicate their current number of years in employment ranging from <1 to 26 years and above, to which 2 participants indicated less than a year in employment (0.3%), 50 and 55 participants indicated employment for 1-3 years and 4-6 years respectively (8%, 8.8%), 90 and 91 participants for 7-10 years and 11-15 years respectively (14.47%, 14.6%), 121 participants for 16-25 years (19.5%) and 133 participants for 26 years or more (21.4%), whereas 46 were currently unemployed (7.4%), 24 were currently students (3.86%), and 10 preferred not to answer (1.6%). As its purpose was to support the initially deceptive premise of the study, this demographic data was excluded from analyses.

Design

The study implemented a 2 x 3 between-subjects design, where the independent variables were the initial expectations manipulation (high, low), followed by the second

[1] Due to a coding error, we were only able to assess whether participants were White or not and information about specific non-White identities was unavailable.

manipulation during the Cyberball exercise where the participant could experience either acceptance, tolerance, or rejection within the teamwork environment. A total of six experimental conditions thus constituted the experimental component of the study: C1) high expectations with acceptance, C2) low expectations with acceptance, C3) high expectations with tolerance, C4) low expectations with tolerance, C5) high expectations with rejection, and C6) low expectations with rejection.

Study Materials

Two major manipulations were employed for the study, accompanied by routine checks throughout the experiment in the form of questions about the material and text boxes for feedback to ensure the manipulations were in effect.

Bogus Personality Test. Allegedly to assess the participant's 'workplace personality', an artificial personality test was implemented prior to the team-building task, claiming to diagnose participants as either 'people-oriented' (more focused on the social needs of the group) or 'task-oriented' (more focused on completing the task regardless of the group's social needs) for use within the study only. Presupposing the participant to be in a leadership position, various statements such as "I would push team members for more effort" and "I would allow members complete freedom in their work" were presented on the screen, which participants were to indicate their degrees of agreement for on a 5-point rating scale where 1 = Never, 2 = Seldom, 3 = Occasionally, 4 = Frequently, and 5 = Always (see Appendix A). Regardless of the answers provided by the participant, the bogus measure was programmed to always produce a 'people-oriented' diagnosis. This false assessment formed the basis to the remainder of the experiment, where the alleged 'people-oriented' disposition of the participant dictated the behaviour of the 'teammates' as either accepting, tolerant, or discriminatory towards the participant from their supposed 'task-oriented' perspective. Participants, in turn, were also requested to complete various questions and feedback tasks

regarding their dissimilar teammates from a ‘people-oriented’ position throughout the study. Participants were next presented with infographics depicting three distinct approaches to colleagues of differing work styles, and asked to select the type they most identified with: acceptance (“I enjoy having different types of people on my team”), tolerance (“I still put up with them as teammates”), or rejection (“I avoid working with them when I can”) (Appendix B). Following this was a fabricated statistical graph illustrating the allegedly overwhelming proportion of previous test-takers who were ‘task-oriented’, thereby placing the participant in the position of the minority as a supposedly ‘people-oriented’ individual to complete the first manipulation (Appendix C).

Manipulations

Expectations Manipulation. The platform upon which the study was conducted, Inquisit, randomised the participants into either the high expectations condition (HE) or low expectations condition (LE). Depending on the condition they were assigned, participants viewed either positive testimonials that raised expectations to be treated with fairness and respect, or a collection of neutral and negative reviews about the game, serving to nullify any previously high expectations the participant had for the upcoming exercise (see Appendix D for both sets). A manipulation check immediately succeeded the testimonials, reinforcing the expectations prime by requesting participants to type “your own expectations” for the game to follow.

Being Tolerated vs. Accepted vs. Rejected. Participants were then introduced to their ‘teammates’: Tom (26-35 years old), Emma (36-45 years old) and Sasha (56-65 years old), who synchronised not only in their ‘task-oriented’ personalities but also in their attitude towards ‘people-oriented’ colleagues, which altered accordingly to the treatment condition bestowed at random upon the participant (Appendix E). The second half of the manipulation, again randomised by Inquisit, saw participants experience either acceptance, tolerance, or

rejection from their teammates during the Cyberball game, with the distinction between the three conditions characterised by the frequency of the ball entering the court of the participant. Those assigned to the acceptance condition experienced the highest amount of ball passes from the teammates while rejection-condition participants underwent the most ostracism. Participants in the tolerance condition received the same amount of ball passes as those in the acceptance condition; being led to believe their teammates reluctantly accepted them was what differentiated the former from the latter.

Measures

Demographics Questionnaire. Participants completed responses to questions regarding their age, sex, ethnicity, and number of years in employment. The latter part of the demographics questionnaire was implemented not out of necessity for the data analysis, but to fortify the alleged theme of the study to be research on teamwork and leadership (Appendix G).

Identity Needs. The study explored *identity needs* (Verkuyten et al., 2020) through a 12-item Identity Needs Questionnaire taken from Bagci et al. (2020). The questionnaire was divided into four main categories of needs: *belonging* ("I had the feeling that I belonged to the team", "I felt left out by the other team members", "I felt lonely during the teamwork activities"), *control* ("I felt in control over the teamwork activities", "I had the feeling that the other members of the team decided everything", "I felt that I had less control over the situation than the others"), *respect* ("I felt that the other team members really valued me", "I had the feeling that the other team members did not really like me", "I felt disrespected during the teamwork activities"), and *uncertainty* ("I was not worried about what to expect from the other team members", "I felt uncertain about fitting in with the team", "I felt uncertain about how the other team members would behave towards me"). The first item from the *uncertainty* category of needs was discarded from the statistical analyses due to low

reliability. Participants indicated the extents of their empathy toward each statement on a 7-point Likert scale where 1 = Completely Disagree and 7 = Completely Agree. Positive items were reverse-coded for statistical analyses to ensure uniformity in participant data.

Future Teamwork Attitudes. An 8-item scale assessed attitudes and beliefs concerning future teamwork scenarios, to which participants indicated their answers on a 7-point Likert scale where 1 = Not At All and 7 = Very Much. The items were broadly divided into two categories, where the first involved self-assessments regarding one's own future value in a team (future openness). The 4-item subscale encompassed the following items: "How much do you think your team members would listen to your suggestion with an open mind?", "How much do you think your team members would value your suggestion?", "How much do you think that your team members would incorporate your suggestion into the project?", and "How much do you think that your team members would ask you your suggestions in future projects?", which were rated on a 7-point Likert scale where 1 = Not At All and 7 = Very Much. The second half of the scale assessed likelihoods of teamwork participation in the future across 4 items: "How likely would you be to put your suggestion forward on your own initiative?", "How likely you be to withdraw and not engage with your teammates?", "How likely would you be to discuss your differences of opinion with your teammates?", and "How likely would you be to ignore your idea and focus on something else instead?". Negative items were again reverse-coded for statistical analyses.

Emotions. Participants were asked to indicate the extents to which they felt the following emotions during the team-building activity (Cyberball): 1) lonely, 2) unwanted, 3) at ease, 4) dependent, 5) confident, 6) happy, 7) looked down upon, and 8) supported. Responses were to be made on a 7-point Likert scale where 1 = Not At All and 7 = Very Much. Akin to previous scales mentioned above, positive items from were again reverse-coded for statistical analyses; lower scores symbolised positively skewed emotions while

higher scores were indicative of negatively skewed emotions through reverse-coding. All items of the emotions were condensed into a singular variable for data analysis.

Manipulation Checks. Various checks to ensure the manipulations were in effect were interspersed throughout the study, including asking participants on their expectations for the team exercise prior to meeting their 'teammates' ("Let us know of your EXPECTATIONS for how you think you will be treated during the team tasks") with an optional text box for entering personal feedback. Post-test manipulation checks compromised of three questions: 1) "Prior to participating in the team activities, how did you think your teammates may treat you?", 2) "How did you feel during the study?". Participants selected the answer they most identified with on a numeric scale where lower numbers corresponded to the most perceived rejection ("I felt completely left out and not appreciated by my team members"; "I had the impression that my team members completely shut me out and didn't appreciate me at all"), while higher numbers were indicative of more perceived acceptance ("I felt completely accepted and appreciated by my team members"; "I had the impression that the team members fully welcomed and appreciated me"); perceived tolerance assumed the midpoint of the scale ("I felt like I was just tolerated and not really appreciated"; "I had the impression that the team members were stuck with me and didn't really appreciate me"). One final post-test measure consisted of the question, "During the ball-passing exercise, how much did your fellow team-members include you?", to which participants could choose answers where 1 = Never, 2 = Rarely, 3 = Occasionally, 4 = Equally, and 5 = Frequently**.**

Procedure

The study was approved by the Human Ethics Committee at the University of Canterbury. All participants, recruited online through TurkPrime, were first presented with an information sheet outlining the purpose of the study, the procedure, and potential risks and benefits to participation. Initially guised as research on teamwork and leadership in the work

environment, deception in the initial stages was necessary as a means to ensure serious and honest responses devoid of bias and socially desirable responding. Confidentiality was assured, and the ability to withdraw was available at any time. Informed consent through the provided consent form was to be obtained before proceeding with the study.

Upon first completing a brief demographics questionnaire, participants were then led to the bogus personality measure with a brief overview on the two distinguished types of 'workplace personality', where the participant could be diagnosed as either 'people-oriented' or 'task-oriented'. Actual responses to the following questionnaire were of no relevance to the final result, which was programmed to determine every participant as 'people-oriented'. To address suspicions or doubt in terms of their diagnosis, the result was emphasised to be for use within the premises of the study only and not as an official indicator of the participant's workplace disposition. This result was then relayed to the other 'teammates'—bots programmed into the script, who participants were led to believe to be real individuals. This dichotomous theme of the study continued into the next component, where participants were shown reviews of the upcoming team-building task from other 'people-oriented' test-takers such as themselves from the past, before being introduced to their 'task-oriented' bot teammates named 'Tom', 'Emma', and 'Sasha'. The team-building exercise, Cyberball, followed suit in how participants experienced the game: participants sorted into the acceptance and tolerance conditions had the ball tossed to them the most while rejection-condition participants experienced the opposite. Perceived tolerance by way of tolerant teammates was what differentiated the tolerance condition from acceptance.

Identity needs were subsequently assessed after the game through the Identity Needs Questionnaire. This stage preceded another series of bogus measures concerning the virtual teammates in hypothetical workplace scenarios, administered solely for the purpose of consolidating the initially deceptive premise of the study. Responses to these questions were

intentionally omitted from the statistical analyses due to irrelevance (Appendix F). Participants completed the Future Teamwork Attitudes scale after finishing the bogus questionnaires, which the Emotions scale shortly followed. As a final manipulation check, participants were presented with three questions: “Prior to participating in the team activities, how did you think your teammates may treat you?”, “How did you feel during the study?”, and “What was your impression of your team members during the collaboration?”, to which participants placed feedback using the rating scales provided. Participants selected their ethnicity amongst the options (American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, Black or African American, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, White, Latino/Latina, Other, or prefer to omit), then completed one final response to the question, “During the ball-passing exercise, how much did your fellow team-members include you?” between the range of Never to Frequently. A text box preceded the debrief stage for participants to place any additional feedback or speculations pertaining to the true nature of the research.

Participants were then debriefed with a debrief form that disclosed the true objectives and rationale of the present study, and provided the opportunity to withdraw from the study if they so wished whilst remaining eligible for the monetary compensation as promised (Appendix C). Contact information for relevant persons were also listed for those seeking further information about the study.

Results

One-way analyses of variance (ANOVA) were conducted as per the 2 x 3 study design to compute between-subjects data for both the expectations and treatment manipulations, as well as their effects on each of the dependent variables encompassing *identity needs* (belonging, control, respect, uncertainty), *future teamwork attitudes* (future openness, future motivation), and *negative emotions*. Each positive item was reverse-coded to condense the data into singular dependent variables. All statistical analyses were computed via IBM SPSS.

Post-test Measures

Manipulation Check. There was a significant main effect of the expectations manipulation, such that participants in HE demonstrated higher expectations regarding how their teammates were to treat them (M = 1.95, SD = 1.19) compared to participants in LE (M = 2.51, SD = 1.44) on the first item of the post-test measure ("Prior to participating in the team activities, how did you think your teammates may treat you?"), $F(1, 621) = 28.77$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. Lower means were indicative of higher expectations to be treated with acceptance.

On the second item of the post-test measure ("How did you feel during the study?"), participants in the acceptance condition indicated greater feelings of acceptance (M = 7.16, SD = 1.10) to a modest degree above their tolerance-condition counterparts (M = 6.66, SD = 1.39), $F(1, 336) = 252.44$, $p = .009$. However, there was a large difference between the acceptance and rejection conditions, as well as the tolerance and rejection conditions, as participants in the rejection condition (M = 3.32, SD, = 1.47), did indeed report feeling more left out than both of the other conditions, $p < .001$.

Ball-tossing Attention Check. For the question, "During the ball-passing exercise, how much did your fellow team-members include you?", a total of 566 responses were

recorded from the final sample size of 622. This instance of attrition may be attributed to the number of participants who may have chosen to skip the question, if not selected the final option of "I don't remember", which was excluded from analysis.

Table 1.
Ball-tossing frequency estimates between treatment conditions (acceptance, tolerance, rejection).

	Mean (M)	Standard deviation (SD)
Acceptance	3.50	.52
Tolerance	3.43	.51
Rejection	1.64	.67

A statistically significant main effect was observed for the treatment manipulation, $F(1, 563) = 660.47$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .70$. As shown in Table 1, participants of the acceptance condition provided the highest estimates for the frequency in which the ball entered their court ($M = 3.50$, $SD = .52$), followed closely by those in the tolerance condition ($M = 3.43$, $SD = .51$). These responses were expected as both the acceptance and tolerance conditions should be the same in number, while only the rejection condition differed. Contrasts were hence evident against participants who were assigned the rejection condition, where the estimated prevalence of receiving the ball was found to significantly lower ($M = 1.64$, $SD = .67$), suggesting that participants indeed paid attention to the ball-tossing frequencies with rejection-condition participants properly discerning their lack of inclusion in the game.

Hypothesis Testing

A series of 2 x 3 mixed model ANOVAs were conducted to examine the effects of both the expectations and treatment manipulations on identity needs, future teamwork attitudes (openness, motivation), and emotions felt during the team-building exercise. Participants indicated their level of agreement to all items of the Identity Needs Questionnaire, the Future Teamwork Attitudes Questionnaire, and the Emotions Measure on

a 7-point Likert scale where lower scores skewed toward disagreement while higher scores represented agreement. Items across all measures were reverse-coded where necessary to ensure uniformity in the data as per their rating scales.

Identity Needs

Table 2 illustrates the results of all four needs (belonging, control, respect, uncertainty) as follows.

Table 2.
Effects of expectations and treatment on identity needs (Verkuyten et al., 2020).

	High expectations (n = 308)		Low expectations (n = 314)		n
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	
Belonging					
Acceptance	1.79	1.14	1.79	1.16	215
Tolerance	2.47	1.38	1.78	.98	185
Rejection	5.91	1.30	5.65	1.48	222
Control					
Acceptance	2.97	1.08	2.83	1.01	215
Tolerance	3.43	1.24	3.03	1.11	185
Rejection	6.28	1.17	5.94	1.42	222
Respect					
Acceptance	2.19	1.24	2.17	1.12	215
Tolerance	2.89	1.34	2.21	1.10	185
Rejection	6.00	1.35	5.60	1.56	222
Uncertainty					
Acceptance	3.05	1.89	3.03	1.74	215
Tolerance	3.14	1.80	3.17	1.77	185
Rejection	5.03	1.96	4.44	2.10	222

Belonging. A modest but significant interaction was observed between the type of expectations and the type of treatment received, $F(2, 616) = 3.84$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. There was a significant main effect of both the magnitude of expectations held prior to the game,

$F(1, 616) = 10.2$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, and the type of treatment experienced, $F(2, 616) = 670.68$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .69$. As shown in Table 2, where higher mean scores indicated greater threats to their identity needs, participants of the acceptance condition demonstrated the lowest belonging threat regardless of HE ($M = 1.79$, $SD = 1.14$) or LE ($M = 1.79$, $SD = 1.16$). Among participants who experienced tolerance, those in the HE condition reported higher threats to identity ($M = 2.47$, $SD = 1.38$) than those in LE ($M = 1.78$, $SD = .98$), implying the expectations manipulation to have moderated the degree to which one's sense of belonging felt threatened. As expected, rejected participants across both types of expectations indicated significantly greater degrees of identity threat in the *belonging* subcategory, where the moderating effect of expectations on identity needs was once again observed for rejected participants with HE ($M = 5.91$, $SD = 1.30$) compared to those with LE ($M = 5.65$, $SD = 1.48$).

Control. No significant interaction was found between expectations and treatment, $F(2, 616) = .719$, $p = .49$, $\eta_p^2 = .002$. However, significant main effects were similarly observed for the type of treatment received, $F(2, 616) = 480.69$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .61$, and the degree of expectations held, $F(1, 616) = 9.34$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = .15$. Table 2 above delineates the variance between the six conditions for *control* needs, where being accepted with high expectations ($M = 2.97$, $SD = 1.08$) and low expectations ($M = 2.83$, $SD = 1.01$) again demonstrated little discrepancy. Expectations had a more salient effect on participants in both the tolerance and rejection conditions, where tolerated participants in HE ($M = 3.43$, $SD = 1.24$) underwent threats to control to a higher degree than their tolerated LE peers ($M = 3.03$, $SD = 1.11$). Rejected participants in both HE ($M = 6.28$, $SD = 1.17$) and LE ($M = 5.94$, $SD = 1.42$) reported the greatest threat to their sense of control during the team-building exercise, which was expected as a consequence of rejection.

Respect. A significant interaction was observed between expectations and treatment, $F(2, 616) = 3.24$, $p = .04$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. In line with the previous two subscales, a significant main

effect was observed for both treatment, $F(2, 616) = 507.17$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .62$, and expectations, $F(1, 616) = 12.2$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. As reported in Table 2, acceptance-condition participants felt the most respected across both HE ($M = 2.19$, $SD = 1.24$) and LE ($M = 2.17$, $SD = 1.12$). Participants under the tolerance condition demonstrated a more noticeable distinction between the expectations primes, where experiencing tolerance with higher expectations induced a stronger sense of disrepect ($M = 2.89$, $SD = 1.34$) compared to those who were tolerated with lower expectations ($M = 2.21$, $SD = 1.10$). Rejection engendered the highest mean scores in the *respect* sphere of identity needs, where rejected HE participants ($M = 6.00$, $SD = 1.35$) felt the most disrespected during the team-building exercise—a sentiment shared by rejected LE participants to a lighter but nonetheless salient degree ($M = 5.60$, $SD = 1.56$).

Uncertainty. This 3-item subscale was initially comprised of the following items: "I was not worried about what to expect from the other team members", "I felt uncertain about fitting in with the team", and "I felt uncertain about how the other team members would behave towards me". One reverse-coded item ("I was not worried about what to expect from the other team members") was dropped from the analysis due to low reliability. Statistical analyses distinguished a significant main effect for the type of treatment on feelings of uncertainty, $F(2, 616) = 53.75$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .15$, but not for expectations pertaining to the team-building exercise, $F(1, 616) = 1.48$, $p = .22$, $\eta_p^2 = .002$. Mean scores differed comparatively less for feelings of uncertainty across all conditions than previous identity needs, where accepted participants with HE ($M = 3.05$, $SD = 1.89$) and LE ($M = 3.03$, $SD = 1.74$) did not differ greatly from rejected participants with HE ($M = 5.03$, $SD = 1.96$) and LE ($M = 4.44$, $SD = 2.10$) for *uncertainty*. Tolerance-condition participants, once again, deviated little from their acceptance-condition participants across both HE ($M = 3.14$, $SD = 1.80$) and

LE (M = 3.17, SD = 1.77). No significant interaction was found between expectations and treatment, $F(2, 616) = 1.73$, $p = .18$, $\eta_p^2 = .006$.

Future Teamwork Attitudes

Future openness. The 4-item subscale examined participants' self-assessments on their future values to a team. Negative items were reverse-coded for statistical analyses, thereby equating higher mean scores with greater future openness and motivation whilst lower mean scores represented inhibited likelihoods of future cooperative behaviours.

Table 3.
Effects of expectations and treatment on future teamwork openness and motivation.

	High expectations (n = 308)		Low expectations (n = 314)		n
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	
Openness					
Acceptance	5.28	1.03	5.04	1.10	215
Tolerance	4.09	1.41	4.14	1.43	185
Rejection	2.88	1.52	2.96	1.50	222
Motivation					
Acceptance	5.28	1.03	5.31	1.22	215
Tolerance	4.64	1.23	5.17	1.06	185
Rejection	4.26	1.38	4.79	1.35	222

A significant main effect was found for the type of treatment on the prospect of future openness, $F(2, 616) = 144.09$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .32$. Expectations, however, had no significant effect on future openness, $F(1, 616) = .003$, $p = .96$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$, and neither was a significant interaction found between expectation and treatment, $F(2, 616) = .382$, $p = .68$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$. As illustrated in Table 3, participants in the acceptance condition indicated the strongest likelihoods of future openness in teamwork situations under both HE (M = 5.28, SD = 1.03) and LE (M = 5.04, SD = 1.10). Lower expectations led to an increased likelihood of openness in tolerated participants (M = 4.14, SD = 1.43), which was modestly higher than those who

were tolerated with greater expectations (M = 4.09, SD = 1.41). Tolerance nonetheless dictated future openness to a greater degree than acceptance. The lowest prospects of future openness were observed in the rejection condition, where both HE (M = 2.88, SD = 1.52) and LE (M = 2.96, SD = 1.50) were noticeably lower on average.

***Future motivation*.** There was a significant main effect of the treatment on future motivation, $F(2, 616) = 21.48$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$, as well as the type of expectation, $F(1, 616) = 13.51$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. Interactions between expectations and treatment bordered on significance, $F(2, 616) = 2.89$, $p = .057$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. Table 3 depicts the mean scores for all six conditions, where acceptance with HE (M = 5.28, SD = 1.03) and LE (M = 5.31, SD = 1.22) exceeded those of tolerance with HE (M = 4.64, SD = 1.23) and LE (M = 5.17, SD = 1.06), in line with predictions for the data. Discrepancies between acceptance and rejection were not as salient for future motivation, as rejected participants in both HE (M = 4.26, SD = 1.38) and LE (M = 4.79, SD = 1.35) fell not exceedingly far behind those in the acceptance categories. The recurring pattern of higher mean scores in LE than HE participants in the Future Teamwork Attitudes Scale may be the product of reverse-coding negative items compared to positive items for previous scales; higher expectations, thus, evoked greater disappointment and decline in future cooperative behaviours, as represented by lower mean scores for participants of the HE bracket.

Negative Emotions

Table 4 depicts the differences in emotions between groups as follows.

Table 4.
Intensity of negative emotions between treatment conditions (acceptance, tolerance, rejection).

	High expectations (n = 308)		Low expectations (n = 314)		n
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	
Acceptance	2.29	1.03	2.23	1.09	215
Tolerance	3.18	1.32	2.45	1.12	185

Rejection	5.25	1.53	4.85	1.75	222

There were both significant main effects of treatment, $F(2, 616) = 263.27$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .46$, and expectations, $F(1, 616) = 13.27$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, in addition to a significant interaction between both variables, $F(2, 616) = 3.12$, $p = .045$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. Consistent with the hypothesis, participants who were accepted reported the greatest absence of negative emotions across both HE ($M = 2.29$, $SD = 1.03$) and LE ($M = 2.23$, $SD = 1.09$). Tolerated participants indicated a higher degree of negative emotions during the team-building exercise, particularly in the HE bracket ($M = 3.18$, $SD = 1.32$) as opposed to that of LE ($M = 2.45$, $SD = 1.12$). Negative emotions were most intensely felt among the rejected ranks, where HE ($M = 5.25$, $SD = 1.53$) resulted in worse emotional experiences overall than if the rejected participant had lower expectations ($M = 4.85$, $SD = 1.75$).

Discussion

The purpose of the current thesis was to investigate whether prior expectations moderate the effects of being tolerated, rejected, or accepted on minority group emotions, identity needs, and future expectations. Based on previous findings regarding expectancy violations (Bettencourt et al., 1997) and identity-need threat (Williams, 2009), it was hypothesised that lowered expectations would mitigate the negative outcomes of being tolerated on social identity needs, negative emotions, future teamwork expectations.

Results revealed a moderating effect of expectations on the experience of tolerance on negative emotions, and identity needs, but not on future expectations. As anticipated, participants subjected to rejection reported significantly greater threat to identity needs regardless of whether expectations were high or low; simply being accepted by others during the team-building exercise cushioned participants the most across both high and low expectations from this effect. Tolerated participants with high expectations indicated a greater sense of threat to the belonging domain of social identity needs than their counterparts with low expectations. Such findings support previous publications that propose belonging to be one of the most fundamental identity needs, with consequences to performance and wellbeing if unfulfilled (Vignoles et al., 2006; Verkuyten et al., 2019a). The same findings applied to the domain of respect, where there was a significant interaction between expectations and treatment: higher expectations indeed resulted in stronger perceived disrespect when subject to tolerance, which was less notable in those in the same condition with lower expectations. Although no significant results were found for the uncertainty domain across both types of expectations, a significant moderating effect of expectations was observed for the need of control wherein higher expectations correlated with a decreased sense of efficacy upon being tolerated. These results complement those of Bagci et al. (2020), where perceived tolerance

was consistently found to positively correlate with threatened social identity needs across multiple studies.

Statistical analyses also revealed a significant effect of treatment on future openness, which was in line with the predictions for the study for the treatment component. Nonetheless, the present study failed to find any significant effect of expectations on future openness between the three conditions, suggesting expectations to influence future openness to a mild degree at best when the type of treatment received is unpleasant enough to contribute the greatest impact. Expectations demonstrated a more salient influence on future motivation, where tolerance and rejection combined with higher expectations both led to motivation levels that were lower than if expectations were not high. An interesting finding was that the average levels of motivation in all six experimental conditions, across both treatment and expectations, were altogether higher with less notable gaps between conditions than those of future openness. When considering previously discussed implications of threats to identity needs, such disparities may have been expected between openness and motivation. A previous investigation by Jamieson et al. (2010) into motivation and need threat, also using Cyberball as is in the present study, noted an increase in performance motivation following threats to identity needs via social exclusion. In the absence of social exclusion, however, motivation did not increase, from which rejected individuals were inferred to be "motivated to affiliate with the group that just excluded them by demonstrating their worth" (Jamieson et al., 2010, p. 699). Although the study in question revolves around the topic of social rejection and not tolerance, the close proximity between tolerance and rejection as suggested by Cvetkovska et al. (2021) implies there could be an overlap in the theories and implications for both. Taken together with previous research on identity denial and the integration paradox, it may be inferred that the experience of tolerance increases performance motivation in an intergroup setting if tolerance threatens one's identity needs, and greater still if expectations

to be treated fairly are also violated. It is the highly educated, and more advantaged members of minorities who are more sensitive to disparities between groups, express further interest in striving for equality, and are more likely to assert themselves within their host society; the more they expect from the host society, the stronger their reactions are to the negative implications of tolerance and having their expectations violated (Wang et al., 2012; Verkuyten, 2016). This impact of tolerance upon minority members with higher expectations to be treated fairly are replicated in the present study, where lower expectations provided a buffer against negative outcomes—the same could not be said for tolerated participants with greater expectations, where a general pattern of worse outcomes was observed when expectations were high.

Findings for self-reported emotions were consistent with the hypotheses. As anticipated, participants who were accepted scored the lowest on negative emotions across both expectation types, whereas rejected participants demonstrated the opposite effect. Negative emotions following tolerance assumed an approximate middle between the two extremities. Expectations imposed noticeable impacts on all six experimental conditions, demonstrating a consistent pattern of higher expectations correlating with greater negative affect as anticipated prior to the study. In line with predictions, this effect was most salient for tolerance, where expectations determined the outcomes for affect: higher expectations led to greater negative affect in tolerated participants, while those tolerated with lower expectations reported significantly less negative affect. Previous studies have already established negative affect and wellbeing as an implication of tolerance (Verkuyten et al., 2020c; Bagci et al., 2020; Cvetkovska et al., 2021); hindered mood and emotional reactions following perceived expectancy violations have also been documented in the literature (Bettencourt et al., 1997; Biernat et al., 1999; Kawamoto et al., 2012). The observations made

in this study pertaining to mood and expectations may thus propose the role expectations may play in moderating the outcomes of tolerance.

Implications

Findings from the present study established a discernable effect of expectations on the experience of tolerance, juxtaposed with those of acceptance and rejection to compare and contrast the implications posed by each treatment type. These findings may be helpful information to heed when considering government policies pertaining to intergroup relations, but how that may be applied in a productive, inoffensive way will require further policy-level research on tolerance and the ways in which it manifests within society. While noted for its numerous negative outcomes on intergroup relationships and personal wellbeing, tolerance is also undeniably an indisposable tool in allowing multiple communities to stay civil and connected. Careful researching will be required so as to most effectively use tolerance as a means of managing diversity. This includes the findings from this study, where both benefits and risks could arise from applying such results to real-life contexts.

With that being said, aiming to reduce the negative outcomes of tolerance should be a mutual effort between both the majority and minority members of a society. Expecting a broad range of diversity to flawlessly interact with and complement one another is neither realistic nor the goal; nonetheless, both parties in a relationship of tolerance may benefit from one side being informed of realistic outcomes and means to cope, while the other could be given guidance on how to avoid appearing insensitive or uninformed in situations that necessitate mutual respect and understanding (e.g. the work environment). The former, however, will likely require a detailed and delicate approach to ensure success, as Shelton et al. (2005) found that expecting to be the target of prejudice protected the individual, but also discouraged exchange with the majority group. According to Berry & Sabatier (2010), active acculturation and integration with the host society as a minority member leads to the most

positive psychological wellbeing and greater adjustment. Less involvement with the host society was found to not only correlate with poorer adaptation, but also increase the likelihood of facing discrimination and prejudice from majority members. If anticipating to be treated in an unfavourable manner will serve to marginalise minorities from society and reinforce the negative implications of tolerance, it will then be crucial to weigh the benefits and risks of such tactics. The findings of the present study indeed indicate a buffering effect of expectations, but how this knowledge may be implemented in the most effective and harmless way possible remains open for further debate.

Strengths and Limitations

The present study opted for a relatively unconventional direction in that White North Americans, rather than ethnic minorities as commonly recruited in the literature, constituted the majority of the sample. As a result, tolerance was induced not on the basis of ethnic identification, but on unrelated, generalised variables that allowed for even majority members (i.e. White) to undergo the minority experience. This suggests a broader range wherein tolerance could occur, even in the absence of ethnic, religious, sexual, or other well-known minority identities. Self-reported measures in the study were also preceded by priming to incite experimental data—as most existing publications pertaining to tolerance appear to rely on the questionnaire format, this approach may merit some value in its novel selection of participants and the means through which data was obtained.

A more salient strength of the study is arguably its implementation of expectations as an independent variable, with results that supported the hypotheses. To current knowledge, intergroup tolerance has yet to be explored with the influence of expectations added into the equation. A wealth of studies have already investigated, and continue to investigate, both the circumstances under which tolerance occurs and their implications. The present study aimed to add onto the literature by testing whether expecting to be tolerated had any cushioning

effect. As the findings affirmed the predictions, the present study suggests the anticipation of being tolerated to relatively protect the tolerated individual from its negative implications, including but not limited to hindered wellbeing, increased negative affect, and threat to identity needs. These results may help provide a foundation for future studies to build further onto, and to fully navigate the mechanics of the relationship between expectations and the experience of tolerance.

In spite of the strengths and novel findings, this study is not without its limitations. As with many existing publications on tolerance, the present study also had to depend on self-reported measures to obtain data despite the inclusion of experimental priming. The well-established limitations of self-reported data thus apply to this study: such measures remain at the mercy of the sample's honesty and sincere participation, both which cannot be guaranteed. Even with ethical deception in effect, there will be the risk of random, dishonest, or socially desirable responding skewing the interpretations of the data. Rating scales, as used in the study, may also be too restrictive and binary to fully encapsulate the range of thoughts and emotions that were felt. To add to this, the participants were not a homogeneous sample, which may also affect the reliability of the results—had all the participants belonged to a single group (e.g. all White), the results may have been more uniform in a within-subjects fashion. As an approximate quarter of the sample consisted of non-White ethnic minorities, their understanding of and experiences with tolerance may have differed from the majority, which could have possibly led to some variation in the data that would not have been accounted for. Likewise, it is also uncertain whether such results obtained from largely a cohort of *ingroup* members can successfully represent the experiences of the *outgroups* in modern society. To say that the experiences of an objectively accepted group could speak for the tolerated and rejected may be inappropriate, if not insensitive, beyond the experimental context.

There is also the issue of generalisability with studies of this nature. While many papers have successfully used online ball-tossing games such as Cyberball in this general area of social psychology—ranging from the pioneers, Williams & Jarvis (2006), on ostracism and acceptance, to the most recent studies on tolerance outcomes by Adelman et al. (2021) where Cyberball is implemented—whether the findings of this study can successfully apply to real-world situations and contexts is not yet clear. While effective within this sample, the means of categorising participants in this study ('people-oriented' vs. 'task-oriented') may not necessarily reflect the impact that real-life differences have on those tolerated for their identities, beliefs, or practises that are deemed crucial to their senses of self. Such central identities would also be far less malleable if not permanent, as personalities and social dispositions can be flexible while other attributes that are inherent, permanent, or biological in nature cannot (e.g. ethnicity, physical features, disabilities, sexual/romantic orientation). External validity remains crucial for scientific research, and the fact that deliberate experimental settings are often unable to replicate real-life environments also raises the question as to whether the present study will be spared from this shortcoming. It will be important for future research to investigate this matter and its applicability further.

Future Directions

Given the relative novelty of intergroup tolerance as a topic, the field remains ripe for future research including additional work on expectations and its implications. Attempts to replicate the study will be necessary to validate the findings reported in this paper. Replicating the methods and aims of this study in a more practical, real-life environment with a behavioural approach to data collection, instead of mostly self-reported data as relied upon here, may also yield intriguing and possibly differing outcomes than those of this study. Unlike the online, anonymous, and rather linear format of the present work, expectations preceding the experience of tolerance may produce more salient effects or outcomes if

induced in a setting where participants are physically present. Data could also be collected in discreet or indirect ways following the experience of tolerance to overcome the barriers of self-reported data in scientific research. It may also be interesting to explore the relationship between expectations and tolerance within a wide variety of samples, such as homogeneous samples, or a mix of different groups across multiple studies to see whether implications may differ between within-subjects and between-subjects.

One such novel take could be to replicate the study, if not conduct behavioural studies on tolerance with more than one outgroup member—such as two outgroup members amongst three or more ingroup members—and assess whether any distinctions are present compared to when the experience of tolerance is limited to a single person. This may allow for tolerance to be studied with other relevant theories, such as the rejection-identification model by Branscombe et al. (1999), which could either result in ingroup favouritism, or, as theorised by Biernat et al. (1999), lead to rejecting a fellow group member if the second member is considered an inappropriate representation of their group. The latter proposes expectations to be influenced by both group membership, and the degree to which one identifies with their group. Ingroup members may judge fellow ingroup members who 'violate' the norms exclusive to their group more harshly than outgroup members violating their own separate norms, but this judgement does not appear to extend to expectancy violations that are independent from the exclusive, defining norms of the group (Bettencourt et al., 1997). Otherwise known as the *black sheep model*, this theory is thought to be closely connected to the expectancy violation theory (Burgoon & Jones, 1976) in their shared notion of ingroup conformity being important, with violations to these norms leading to extremitised disapproval and punishment within the group (Biernat et al., 1999). It would thus be interesting for future research to examine whether the rejection-identification phenomenon, which suggests individuals to turn to their group membership(s) to cope after social rejection,

would still persist in tolerated minority members if the sole fellow group member unexpectedly acts in ways that are considered inappropriate for the group. Combining various theories and models in the literature may pave way to an abundance of future topics of interest when investigating intergroup tolerance.

For as long as humans remain individual and unique, friction between social groups and their members also remains inevitable. While ideal, unconditional acceptance is far from realistic in many situations; tolerance could be understood as a suboptimal, yet satisfactory alternative if full harmony cannot hope to be achieved amongst the many constituents that complete a society. Current research continues to investigate the contributors to, and the implications of being tolerated—which, in spite of its implications, arguably merits necessity and importance in society. The present study aimed to contribute to the literature by taking the potential effects of expectations into account, which was a contemporary approach that had yet to be made. Key findings from this study indeed suggested expectations to direct notable changes between those with high anticipations and those without, with regards to emotions, identity needs, and likelihoods of future social attitudes and behaviour. With that being said, such results uncover only the early stages of an area anticipating further development. More research will be necessary to explore the complexity of intergroup tolerance in more depth.

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Appendix

Appendix A. *Bogus Personality Measure.*

Now we will ask you a few questions to determine your workplace personality.

Research indicates that the success of workgroups, especially in online and virtual communities, depends a lot on how well the workplace personalities mesh, especially in terms of whether team-members are:

PEOPLE-ORIENTED VS **TASK-ORIENTED**

People-oriented people are more focused on the social needs of the group.

Task-oriented people are more focused on completing the task regardless of the group's social needs.

We want to understand which of these two you are.

One of the most important traits for online work groups is whether team-members are more people- or task-oriented. We would like you to complete a brief set of questions to determine whether you are more people-oriented or more task-oriented.

Please indicate how often you would do the following if you were a team leader using the scale below each item, where 1 = Never, 2 = Seldom, 3 = Occasionally, 4 = Frequently, 5 = Always.

Please use your keyboard to indicate your response and then press enter.

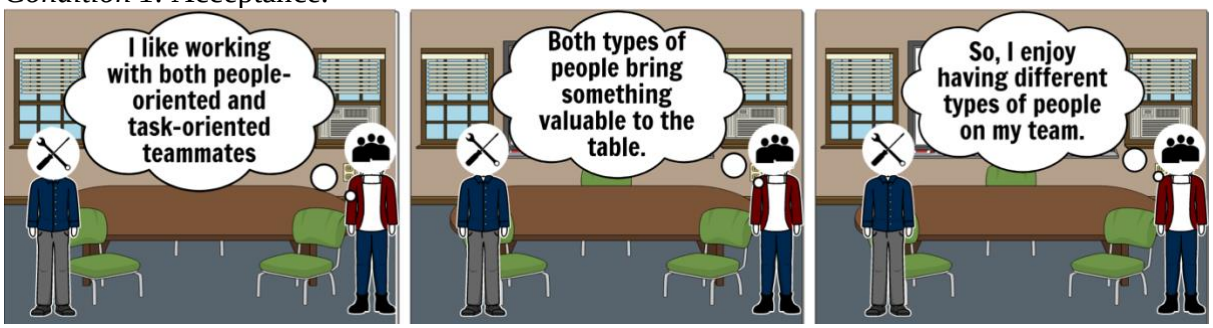
1. I would push team members for more effort.
2. I would require team members to always use standard procedures that I decide upon.
3. I would personally settle conflicts when they emerged in the team.
4. I would decide alone which tasks team members should fulfill.
5. I would allow members complete freedom in their work.
6. I would refuse to explain my actions.
7. I would keep the work moving at a rapid pace.
8. I would persuade others that my ideas are to their advantage.

Appendix B. *Selection of Preferred Work Style.*

Many people have strong opinions about working with people who are different from them in terms of people- and task-orientation.

On the following page, we will show you three different common approaches that people have, and ask you which of the three best represents your approach.

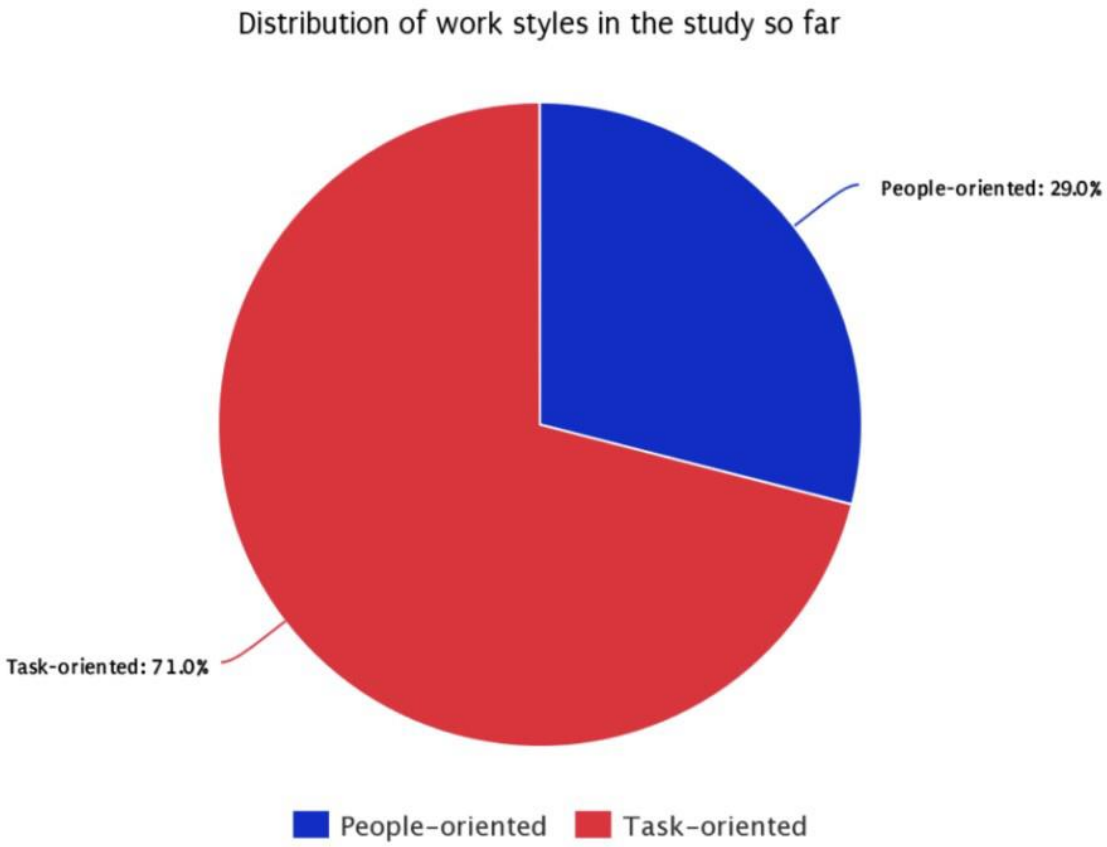
Condition 1. Acceptance.



Condition 2. Tolerance.

Condition 3. Rejection.

Appendix C. *Bogus Personality Measure Graph.*



Appendix D. *Experimental Manipulation (Expectations).*

Condition A. High expectations.

"*I felt like people were nice enough despite our differences. the game was also pretty fun!*" (Hannah, Female, 18-25 years)

"*This was an interesting game… didn't realise people could be so different in their working styles, but we worked together fine*" (Niamh, Female, 36-45 years)

"*Being made to feel like i was a part of a team made me want to coperate!*" (DL, Male, 26-35 years)

"*Even though the other players in the game were different, they were friendly & included me in the activities* " (Lisa, Female, 56-65 years)

"*my teamates were actually nice! after reading some of the comments before starting, i was expecting for the worse, but it was the opposite*" (Brian, Male, 18-25 years)

"*I had positive and pleasant interaction with the people I had to work with* " (Amazin', Female, 26-35 years)

Condition B. Low expectations.

> "*i felt ignored the entire time. my so-called teammates suck and no wanna share anything with me!!!*" (Connor, Male, 26-35 years)

> "*how was i supposed to get the other players to respect me? I tried my best but being excluded constantly killed my motivation* " (Moj, Male, 18-25 years)

> "*Not sure why I was even a part of the game. I felt invisible.*" (Kim, Female, 26-35 years)

> "*game easy enuf! Y'all need to stop bitchin'* " (JD, Male, 18-25 years)

> "*Others were uber competitive and cliquish. They ganged up together and made me feel like an outsider*" (Amazin', Female, 26-35 years)

> "*If you are looking for a fun experience, look elsewhere. The other players on this site are mean and I wondered if they were especially unpleasant to me because they are task-oriented* " (Lisa, Female, 56-65 years)

Appendix E. *Teammate Profiles*.

If assigned *acceptance*:

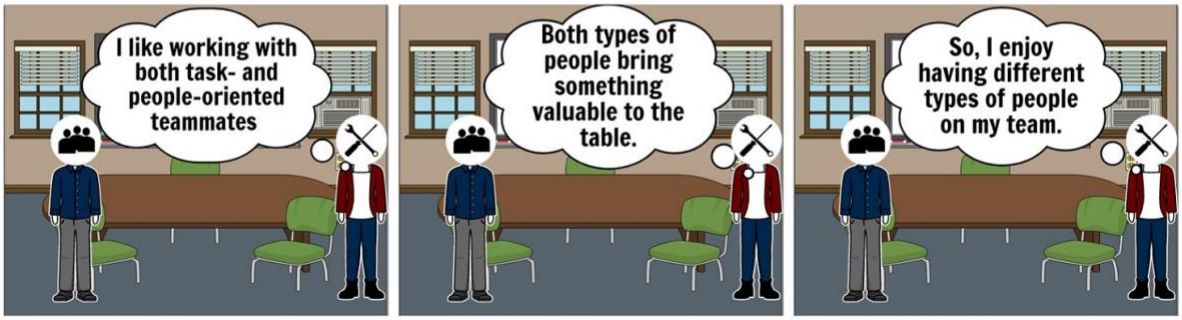
Name: Emma

Age: 36-45 years

Years Employed: 11-15 years

Workplace personality: TASK-ORIENTED

Team preference:



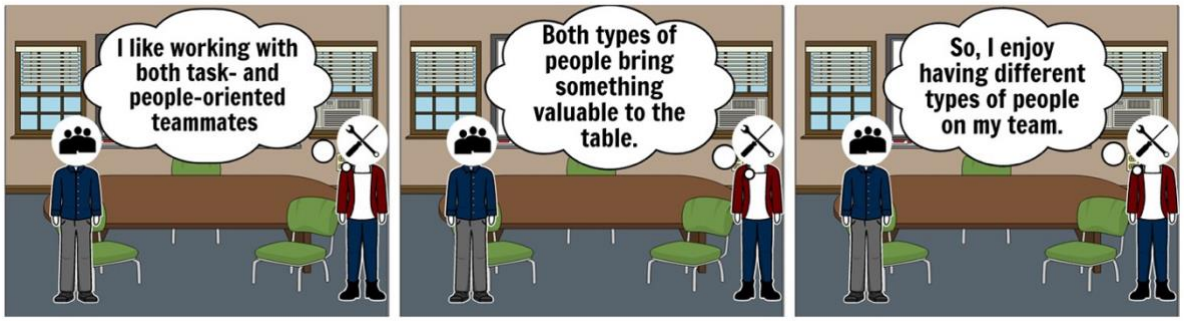
Name: Sasha

Age: 56-65 years

Years Employed: 26+ years

Workplace personality: TASK-ORIENTED

Team preference:



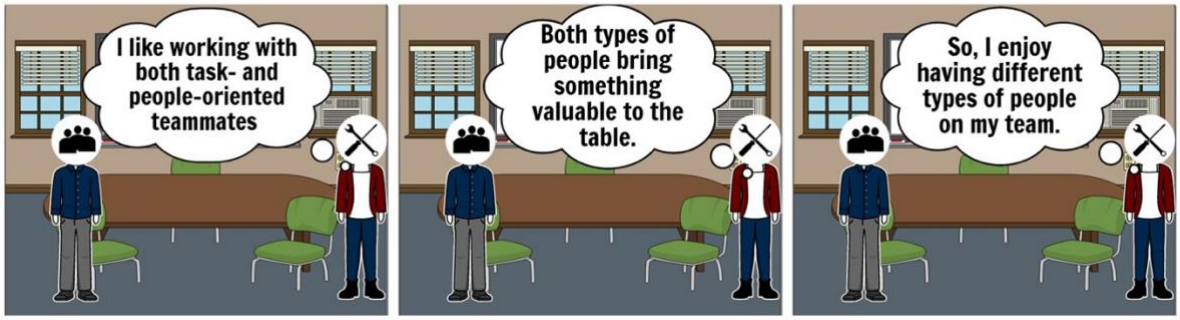
Name: Tom

Age: 26-35 years

Years Employed: 4-6 years

Workplace personality: TASK-ORIENTED

Team preference:



If assigned *tolerance*:

Name: Emma

Age: 36-45 years

Years Employed: 11-15 years

Workplace personality: TASK-ORIENTED

Team preference:

Name: Sasha

Age: 56-65 years

Years Employed: 26+ years

Workplace personality: TASK-ORIENTED

Team preference:

Name: Tom

Age: 26-35 years

Years Employed: 4-6 years

Workplace personality: TASK-ORIENTED

Team preference:

If assigned *rejection*:

Name: Emma

Age: 36-45 years

Years Employed: 11-15 years

Workplace personality: TASK-ORIENTED

Team preference:

Name: Sasha

Age: 56-65 years

Years Employed: 26+ years

Workplace personality: TASK-ORIENTED

Team preference:

Name: Tom

Age: 26-35 years

Years Employed: 4-6 years

Workplace personality: TASK-ORIENTED

Team preference:

Appendix F. *Sample of Bogus Workplace-Situation Measures.*

Both of you have been assigned with the task of managing a taskforce of 15 workers to prepare a complex computer program.

One of the members of the team is your best friend, and he has been going through a very difficult time and has not been fully completing his tasks. Your supervisor has called the managers to come to her office to discuss the progress of the project.
You would like to protect your friend, since you know that losing his job would be the worst thing for him at this point.

You don't have a chance to speak to your fellow manager before you both go into the meetings. You know that if neither of you mentions the slow progress of your friend, his job will be fine. If both of you point out that he has been slow, the supervisor will probably get worried and call your friend in, and while he won't be fired, he will have his position and pay reduced.

However, if only one of you mention that he has been slow, the supervisor will just ask you to fire him.

Without the chance to speak to your fellow manager, what would you do?

1. Tell the supervisor about your friend's slow progress
2. Not tell the supervisor about your friend's slow progress

Appendix G. *Demographic Measures.*

What is your gender?

1. Female
2. Male
3. I prefer not to answer this question
4. Other (please specify):

What is your age?

1. Under 18 years old[2]
2. 18-25
3. 26-35
4. 36-45
5. 46-55
6. 56-65
7. 66-75
8. 75 and over

Years employed?

1. Unemployed
2. Student
3. 0 years
4. 1-3 years
5. 4-6 years
6. 7-10 years
7. 11-15 years
8. 16-25 years
9. 26+ years
10. I prefer not to answer this question

What is your race? Mark one or more races to indicate what you consider yourself to be.

1. American Indian or Alaska Native (a person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Americas through tribal affiliation or community attachment)
2. Asian (a person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian Subcontinent, for example, Cambodia, China, India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippine Islands, Thailand, and Vietnam)
3. Black or African American (a person having origins in any of the black racial groups of Africa)
4. Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander (a person having origins in any of the original peoples of Hawaii, Guam, Samoa, or other Pacific Islands)
5. White (a person having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe)
6. Latino/Latina (a person having origins in Latin America, Central America, or Mexico)
7. I prefer not to answer this question
8. Info you would like to add:

[2] Participants who indicated being 18 or below were automatically led to the end of the experiment as valid participants were 18+ adults only.